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412 [184] (Zerries, 1956a), Casapare (Koch-Grünberg, 1923, p. 313 and Pl. 47), Karimé (Salathé, 1931-32, p. 306 and Figure 16), Surará and Pakidai (Becher, 1960, p. 54). The handle of the knife, [171] relatively short, may be made of wood or of a simple piece of bone; it is in style also among the Guayakí (Hitte, /203/ 1897, Pl. III, Figures 4 and 6) and the Sirionó (Holmberg, 1950, p. 14), both tribes with a primitive culture.

[237] [179] In order to smooth their bows, the Sanemá use the tusk of a peccary. Before the introduction of iron axes they used stone axes, which are still found among them, although rarely.

The most important weapon of the Sanemá is the bow and 411 arrow. The bow, plano-convex, 2-2.10 meters, is made of [324] macanilla wood. In the middle it measures 2-3 centimeters in width, which tapers to 0.5 centimeter at the ends. The bowstring is made of plant fibers. The different classes of arrows which they use are distinguished according to the different points that they have. Their total length varies between 1.60 meters and 2.40 meters (cf. Méndez-Arocha, 1960, pp. 54-60). This latter trait of having arrows of this length is another characteristic of the nomadic Indians of the Tropical Forest. The arrow points vary according to the game that they wish to hunt. The bamboo point, lance-shaped, is for large game; for medium-sized and small animals they use arrows whose point is made of monkey bone. There is another point of wood which they poison with curare and which they use as a weapon of war (cf. Koch-Grünberg, 1923, Pl. 47; Becher, 1960, p. 18). The lower part of the arrow is provided with two halves of a turkey feather, in the manner typical of the tribes of Guayana.

• [627] Another weapon for combat is the club 1.50-2.50 meters in length and of heavy wood, which they use to settle local fights and which reminds one of the clubs of the Botocudo of Brazil.

291 Sanemá dress is the simplest. Both sexes wear a cord tied about the waist. The men carry the penis fastened up by the prepuce. Among the Nabudub we saw several women who wore no clothing other than the above-mentioned cord; most of the Sanemá, however, use a guayuco of cotton thread, dyed with onoto and in the same manner as the type Becher describes (1960,

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584 There are cases in which a brother or a friend of the suitor wishes to serve as intermediary and offers to speak to the father-in-law. The gesture is very well received and highly appreciated.

585 583 During the first two or three days the young husband remains in the forest /217/ hunting; the woman hangs her hammock near that of her husband in the house of the family of orientation, [476] that is, where she has always lived. This time having elapsed, the man tries to bring together some twenty friends to help him clear the land for the three conucos requested by his father-in-law. Usually he has no difficulty in finding this help. The father of the boy and his brothers do their best to feed the workers well, and, when the work is done, the young husband offers them as presents arrows, bows, etc. which they refuse to accept. Later, the man begins to clear some conucos for his own family.

584 • 627 Our informant from the upper Caura insisted that, once consent has been obtained, delivery is definite and the girl cannot then accept any other young man. In order to give us an example, he told us what had happened to a man of his group.

A girl had accepted him as a husband, but, because of unforeseen circumstances, he had not had time to talk to the father-in-law. Then the girl surrendered to another young man and married him. The father-in-law knew nothing about the first offer. One day the people of the pueblo found the young couple in their hammock pierced by two arrows poisoned with curare. The murderer informed the father-in-law and the inhabitants of the rancheria of the motive which had caused him to perpetrate the crime. Neither the father-in-law nor the people intervened in the matter, for, according to them, the young lover was right in punishing the two who had deceived him in this way.

584 595 881 Sometimes parents marry off their children before they reach maturity. Some men also take a second wife when she is still underage, but they respect them and have no sexual contact with them until after the first menstrual periods have passed.

10: Chagnon SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

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[For information on club fights as a means of settling disputes between individuals or factions within a village, see category 578.]

622 influence within the village. A leader's functions are few and ill-defined. Generally, he initiates activities that the entire group has already decided to undertake. His major [701] function and concern is with organizing and leading raiding parties and with investigating the village neighborhood when raiders are likely to be present, a dangerous and undesirable task. Moreover, he represents the village and frequently [529] [574] [439] initiates feasts to honor other villages, and he often supervises the trading that normally follows a feast, permitting enough possessions to pass into the hands of the guests to assuage their greed, while at the same time ensuring that his [529] followers are not impoverished. Because of his role in [241] initiating feasts, his garden is usually larger than that of his followers and he produces the greater portion of food given away during the feast. During club-fights within the [578] [621] village, the leaders of the factions involved in the fighting [629] stand by and attempt to keep the fighting innocuous, using both diplomacy and threats to effect a relatively peaceful end to the fighting. When diplomacy fails and someone is badly injured or killed in the fighting, the headmen are the first to start firing arrows at the offenders.

629 The headman's role as leader is enhanced in proportion 92 to the intensity of warfare. Some headmen deliberately seek 554 to prolong wars by spurning offers of peace from their enemies, or go so far as to initiate new raids against some unsuspecting village on the pretext that they are practicing harmful magic against his followers, or simply to abduct women.

838 unmarried young men in Bisaasi-tedi were having homosexual
883 relationships with each other, but no stigma was attached to this behavior. In fact, most of these bachelors joked about it and simulated copulation with each other in public. The men involved in these affairs, however, were hardly more than teenagers; I have no cases of adult men satisfying their
836 sexual needs by homosexuality. By the time a young man is
837 20 to 25 years old, his sexual interests focus on women, and he is constantly attempting to establish liaisons with women,
[564] whether or not they have husbands. In some respects, a man's
[627] status depends on his ability to successfully carry on
[678] clandestine affairs which, when discovered, force him into
[64] club-fights. The number of scars he has on his scalp is a
[554] measure of his sexual prowess.

593 Rarely, a man will permit his brother to have sexual
835 relations with his wife. In the village of Mõmaribõwei-tedi
732 there is an achodroplastic dwarf, Yoyosiwã. Being 'ugly' (wanidiwã), he can not find a wife. One of his normal brothers permits him sexual access to his own wife. In general, however, men are jealous of their adult brothers
595 and do not permit such affairs. Occasionally, if a man has
593 several wives, the wives themselves may put pressure on the husband to give one of them to the man's younger brother; co-wives, too, are capable of being jealous of each other and often resent having to share food, particularly meat. Several young men in Bisaasi-tedi have obtained their wives from older brothers because the latter could not keep peace

*628 613 591 583 606 Koima, a girl of some 15 years, was promised to Rerebawä, a young man from Karohi-tedi, an ally of the Bisaasi-tedi. Rerebawä had already been given Koima's older sister, Shihotama, by whom he had two children. Rerebawä wished to return to his own village, as he had performed a lengthy bride service. His parents-in-law, however, wanted him to remain in Bisaasi-tedi permanently, as they had no sons to help them with the gardening or to provide them with meat. Rerebawä began making frequent trips to his own village. His wife's parents feared that he might not return, so they kept his wife's children in Bisaasi-tedi, knowing that she would return even if her husband did not. This coercion was not working effectively, and Rerebawä was growing impatient. His parents-in-law, therefore, promised him Koima, their second daughter, 584 583 591 578 735 613 *624 • 627 provided that he remain in Bisaasi-tedi. Koima, however, refused to go to Rerebawä, suspecting that he would not keep his promise to remain in Bisaasi-tedi. She preferred, instead, Bäkotawä, her classificatory FaSiSo. She began an affair with Bäkotawä, making no attempt to be discreet. This infuriated Rerebawä, who challenged Bäkotawä to a club fight. Bäkotawä belonged to one of the important lineages in Bisaasi-tedi and was cognatically related to the members of the headman's [626] descent group, another important lineage. Public sentiment was on Bäkotawä's side, but the girl belonged to a descent group over whose affairs Bäkotawä's supporters had no claims. Rerebawä's challenge was legitimate, for the girl was promised to him by her agnates: Bäkotawä was, in effect, having an

affair with his wife. The parties in question armed themselves with sharpened clubs and faced each other in the center of the village, but actual fighting was averted. Despite the legitimacy of Rerebawä's claims, no one stepped forward to take his side in the feud, so he backed down. After this incident, Rerebawä threatened to kill Koima, but the headman dissuaded him. Koima and her mother then fled to Monou-tedi and took refuge with kinsmen there, reducing the probability of Rerebawä shooting Koima. Her mother tried to coax her into abiding by the wishes of her kinsmen and go to Rerebawä, but she obstinately refused. She ultimately eloped with Bäkotawä, and the two of them fled to a distant village on the Padamo River. Rerebawä discovered where they had gone and attempted, unsuccessfully, to recover Koima. If she returns to Bisaasi-tedi she will be given to Rerebawä, who will have ample reason to thrash her soundly.

B. Yąnomamö Kinship[1]

The structural relationships between descent groups within Yąnomamö villages can be expressed in terms of dyadic kin ties. Considerable theoretical attention has been devoted to this analytical procedure in recent structural treatments

[1] Migliazza (1964) published a kinship diagram for the Uraricaa Yąnomamö. Although the terms differ from those current among the Upper Orinoco Yąnomamö, the pattern (Iroquois) is the same. I defer discussion of the complete kinship terminology to a later publication, as there are enough peculiarities in usage to warrant a more complete treatment than would be appropriate here.

11: Chagnon SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

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